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AUTHOR Finkel, Susan Kolker; Olswang, Steven G.
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ABSTRACT

In an effort to understand the persistent lack of representation of females in senior ranks at top research universities this study examined the attitudes of female assistant professors toward 14 possible impediments to their gaining tenure. Subjects were tenure-track assistant professors in a large, public research university where women are found less frequently in the senior ranks and more often in junior ranks. Of 189 surveys distributed, 124 were returned (66 percent return rate). Over 44 percent of participants had no children and 49 percent acknowledged that they had postponed having a child. Results revealed that child rearing most significantly affects women's chances to gain tenure with over 40 percent of respondents reporting that "time required by children" is a serious impediment to receiving tenure. These results were even more significant for women with children 5 years old or younger, 80 percent of whom reported that time with children was a serious impediment to obtaining tenure. A large number of women reported that they plan to remain childless because of their careers. The majority of female assistant professors who have postponed or decided not to have children reported that they are less satisfied with their work. Sexual harassment and sexism were perceived by fewer respondents as serious impediments to obtaining tenure. The report proposes greater flexibility in the timing of the tenure decision. (Contains 28 references.) (JB)

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Impediments to Tenure for Female Assistant Professors

Susan Kolker Finkel, Research Associate, College of Education: Leadership and Policy Studies, University of Washington. Dr. Finkel received her Ph.D. in the College of Education, Leadership and Policy Studies, and is a Research Associate in the Office of the Provost at the University of Washington.

Steven G. Olswang, Professor, College of Education, and Vice Provost, University of Washington. Dr. Olswang is a Professor in the College of Education and also serves as Vice Provost at the University of Washington.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
AH-20
SEATTLE, WA 98195

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Texas A&M University
Department of Educational
Administration
College Station, TX 77843
(409) 845-0393

This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Doubletree Hotel, Tucson, Arizona, November 10-13, 1994. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Impediments to Tenure for Female Assistant Professors

There is a persistent lack of representation of females in senior ranks at top research universities. In this study, female assistant professors were surveyed to determine their perceptions of fourteen possible impediments to their gaining tenure. Over forty percent of respondents reported that publishing, teaching, committees, and "time with children" were serious impediments. These results were even more significant for women with children five and under. Perceived by fewer respondents as serious impediments were sexual harassment and sexism. Child rearing takes time--a fact universities have long ignored. Policy suggestions for universities to level the field for women are included.

Impediments to Tenure for Female Assistant Professors

Over the last twenty-five years, women have made increasing and somewhat successful attempts to enter the ranks of higher education institutions as faculty members, most notably in the junior ranks of academia, where women represent 40 percent of assistant professors (Ottinger and Sikula 1993). However, the representation of women in the senior ranks is 15 percent for all universities (Ottinger and Sikula 1993) and 10 percent at top research universities (Academe, 1992). At Category 1 doctoral level universities, 72.6 percent of men have tenure compared with 44 percent of the women (Academe 1992, 26). While research into this persistent inequity has focused both on the closed and "chilly" structure of universities (Chronicle of Higher Education 10/9/91; Sandler and Hall 1986) as well as on questions of women's ability to perform in terms of scholarship (Cole and Zuckerman 1987), less research attention has been paid to the effect of bearing and raising children on the careers of female assistant professors. Indeed, some comparisons between men and women leave out direct references to children as a possible factor in difference in academic performance (Hamovitch and Morganstern 1977; Bayer and Astin 1975; Muller 1986). Policies which have been used in universities to increase women's full participation as faculty members have been ones with high visibility such as affirmative action, grievance procedures, comparable worth, and sensitivity training about sexism and sexual harassment. Yet these have had only limited success in increasing the numbers of women in senior levels or in achieving equity in pay (Chronicle of Higher Education 10/9/91; Lee, Leslie, and Olswang 1987).

Historical Context

Child rearing has been known to be a problem for academic women since their earliest entrance into the profession. The tension produced by the conflict between families and careers has deep historical roots. From the earliest years in the American colonies, there have been social forces which viewed the formal education of females as a threat to their traditional roles as wives and mothers and thus the very fabric of society (Woody 1966 [1929]). When women were finally allowed into formal education and later to join the ranks of faculty in universities, no concessions were made for the obvious gender difference between males and females: that women bear and raise children. Women had to either modify their own behavior as wives and potential mothers to fit into the traditional male model of a professor or they would be forced out of the university. Few of the earliest women faculty members married or had children. Although adamantly against marriage for female professors, Martha Carey Thomas, the president of Bryn Mawr from 1894 to 1922, told her students in the latter part of her tenure that it might be possible for a woman to successfully combine marriage and an academic career. "The next advance in women's education is then to throw open to the competition of women scholars the rewards and prizes of a scholar's life and allow women professors like men professors to marry, or not, as they see fit" (Frankfurt 1977, 35).

Newcomer (1959), in reviewing the number of women scholars, despaired at the declining numbers of female academics of her day. Regarding the numbers of women Ph.D's (10 percent in

1956), the shrinking numbers of women on college and university faculties (28 percent in 1940 reduced to 23 percent in 1954), and the list of women scholars proportionate to all the scholars listed in two directories (women represented 6 percent in 1957 down from 8 percent in 1944). Newcomer surmised that women would contribute "a decreasing share to the advancement of knowledge in this country" (Newcomer 1959, 204). However, the reasons she saw for this decline were not a result of prejudices against women, which had decreased, or lack of opportunities, which had increased, but rather that, "women are now faced with a new handicap of their own choosing--increasingly early marriages and larger families" (Newcomer 1959, 204).

Similar observations are reflected in the findings of the 1973 Carnegie Commission study which included an articulated concern about the problem for academic women with children.

> Probably the most serious handicap facing married women desirous of a teaching career in higher education, especially in research-oriented universities, is that in the very age range in which men are beginning to achieve a reputation through research and publication, 25 to 35, married women are likely to be bearing and rearing their children (Carnegie 1973).

This problem also received attention at the federal level when in 1978 the Pregnancy Discrimination Act was passed requiring employers to treat pregnancy like any other temporary disability. Since that time, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has advised colleges that sick leave policies should include pregnancies.

Although there is a gap in the 70's and 80's in the research about the effects of children on the careers of faculty women, more recently this issue has received some needed attention. Some have suggested that the problem for women in universities is that childbearing is not compatible with tenure. Nancy Hensel stated "in most cases, the presence of children serves as a deterrent to women's publishing efforts" (Hensel 1991, 40). She suggested that women who bear children and are the primary caretakers of these children are at a disadvantage at the work place. "Preferential treatment in the form of extended maternity leave, promotion practices which take family responsibilities into account, and work schedules that are compatible with family responsibilities would provide more equal access for women" (Hensel 1990, 7). Shirley Tilghman argued that "The problem of reconciling a scientific career with some semblance of a normal life is exacerbated by the tenure system... it rigidifies their career path when they [women] need maximum flexibility (Tilghman 1993, A23).

The Current Situation for Female Academics

The expectations for tenure-track female assistant professors are no different than for male assistant professors: to show that they can produce scholarly work, teach, and participate in the community of scholars. To succeed in academia, tenure-track assistant professors have to "hit the ground running" (Whitt 1991); academic success is time consuming and pressured. New faculty must produce research as well as teach and provide community service. In a recent study, new faculty teachers reported that there was not enough time to prepare new courses, to develop tests, to grade and to advise students (Sorcinelli and Billings 1992). Tenure, the commitment to

permanently employ faculty at a university, is granted to those who perform well as teachers and show promise for future scholarship. All junior academics with the personal goal of tenure must make the necessary concessions to academic life. Coincidentally for women, at the same time that they enter their tenure probationary period, many also want to begin a family or may already be raising small children. Although there has been research concerning the stresses and particular challenges facing new faculty (Sorcinelli and Billings 1992, Turner and Boice 1987), this research has focused on all new faculty but has not looked specifically at the problems which women, with their additional responsibilities of bearing and raising children, may confront.

While there are women who have been successful in academia, for many it has been at a frightful cost. "Many in my own generation chose to forgo child-bearing until the security of tenure had been granted, only to find that their biological clock had stopped ticking" (Tilghman 1993). Others chose to work part-time to accommodate both work and children, positions which have little status and do not lead to tenure (Finkel and Olswang 1994, in progress). Still others choose another route: they leave the university. Esther Rothblum (1988) wrote that significant proportions of women leave academic positions before the reappointment and tenure decision. A report on gender equity in the Wisconsin system showed that between 1981 and 1990, the system hired 1,281 women as faculty members and during the same period, lost about 955 female professors (Blum 1991). A recent study of new faculty found that pretenure women faculty meet some additional obstacles as they adjust to university life, including a different kind of experience than men do in balancing work, marital, and family life (Sorcinelli and Billings 1992).

Many universities now extend sick leave benefits to faculty women who give birth. In addition, many universities also offer unpaid leaves for child care as an option and tenure extensions after childbirth (Finkel and Olswang 1994). Research has shown, however, that these leaves are underused by female assistant professors. Only 30 percent of the women faculty who give birth take the full paid leave available to them. Fewer still take additional unpaid leave for extended child care. Women faculty report that they are often pressured to return to work, feel that they will not be taken seriously if they leave their positions for too long, or are reluctant to leave their research and teaching responsibilities. However, over 75 percent of the women faculty report that they would take the full sick leave if their same sex colleagues did the same for a birth (Finkel, Olswang, and She 1994). Thus, while providing some relief for faculty women who give birth, these policies do little in the way of assuaging the responsibilities of child rearing and have not yet served to level the playing field for female academics.

Little research over the last twenty-five years has focused on the factor of rearing children as a possible impediment to academic women's careers. Rather, research efforts have focused on analyzing sexism, sexual harassment, and women's comparable productivity to explain their lack of progress in the academic hierarchy (Sandler and Hall 1986, Cole and Zuckerman 1987). This research aims to determine which of all these possible factors are serious impediments to female assistant professors in their careers. Based on these results, meaningful and relevant policy changes can be made.

Methods

Subjects

The subjects for this study are the female tenure-track assistant professors in a large, public research university classified as a Carnegie I Research University, a member of the American Association of Universities. This university has similar characteristics to other institutions affiliated with the AAU: women are found less frequently in the senior ranks and more often in junior ranks (Ottinger and Sikula 1993); women at this university represent 10 percent of the full professors, 22 percent of the associate professors, and 41 percent of the assistant professors. The university at which this study was conducted has a 90-day paid sick leave allowance for faculty women who give birth followed by the option of unpaid leave for up to one year following the birth. While adoptive parents are not eligible to take the 90 day paid sick leave because they do not give birth or need physical recovery from the birth, they are allowed to take unpaid leaves to care for an infant. Tenure extensions of one year are permitted for those who are away from work for six months. A survey of maternity leave and tenure extension policies of 60 AAU institutions reveal that this university's policies on childbirth and policies for tenure extensions were comparable to the other universities' policies (Finkel and Olswang 1994).

There were 189 female tenure-track assistant professors subjects employed at the university at the time of this study, representing all 17 internal colleges and schools and two branch campuses. The university's full, associate, and assistant professor faculty population consists of 2,697, including 570 female faculty; 64 percent of the men are tenured and 44 percent of the women are tenured.

Design of the Study

Because of its focus, an original questionnaire was designed for this research. The survey instrument provided female assistant professors the opportunity to respond directly to questions concerning possible impediments and barriers to them in their careers. The specific question on impediments asked the respondents to indicate to what extent an item had been or would be a problem in their achieving tenure. Open-ended questions allowed the respondents an opportunity to further detail additional problems which they perceived to be significant impediments to their getting tenure. The mail survey technique using the campus mail system was used.

Results

Out of the 189 surveys distributed, one-hundred and twenty-four (124) usable responses were received, a 66 percent return rate. To protect the anonymity of respondents, the responses were grouped into one of four areas, Arts and Sciences, Medicine, Nursing and Community Health, and Other. There was no significant difference between the characteristics of the original sample and the characteristics of the respondents (Chi-square = .024, df 3, $p>.05$).

Demographics

Over ninety-four percent (94.4 percent) of the female assistant professors who responded hold terminal or professional degrees awarded between 1965 to 1992. The ages of the women assistant professors ranged from thirty to fifty-one with a mean of age of 39.6. The overwhelming

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majority of respondents, one hundred and ten, were Caucasian (88.7 percent). There were six (4.8 percent) Asian, three African American (2.4 percent), one Hispanic and one Native American (each .8 percent), and three other ethnicities (2.4 percent). Over ninety-two percent (92.7 percent) have English as their first language. Because of the small number of respondents other than Caucasian, no specific statistical analysis examining differences in ethnic groups could be carried out.

The majority of women faculty members (78.5 percent) are either married or in a committed relationship. There was no question which differentiated same-sex or heterosexual couples. Those indicating they were not married or in a permanent relationship included those who were never married and those who were not now married. The following table illustrates the breakdown of demographic information concerning women with children. Chi-square analysis shows that a significant number of female assistant professors with children are either married or in committed relationships (Chi-square = 13.977, DF = 1, $p < .05$).

--Insert Table 1 here--

Postponing or Not Having Children

The perception that having a child may negatively influence a woman's career in higher education is borne out in the female assistant professors' childbearing behavior. Over forty-four percent (44.6 percent) of female assistant professors currently have no children, including over one third of the total who are married or in permanent relationships.

Forty-nine percent (49 percent) of female assistant professors acknowledged that they have postponed having a child. Thirty-four percent (34.2 percent) of female assistant professors reported that their careers influenced their decision to postpone having a child while 11.6 percent reported that the decision to postpone children was not influenced by their career plans. More than one-third (38.3 percent) of the female assistant professors who postponed having children because of their careers reported that they were significantly less satisfied with their opportunities for family life than women who postponed having children for reasons other than their careers ($p < .05$). Of the female assistant professors who said they had postponed their families for their careers, only 15 percent now have children.

The history of women in the professoriate was one of childless women (Woody 1966 [c1929]). While this trend is no longer the rule, many female assistant professors still choose to remain childless. Thirty percent (30 percent) of the female assistant professors reported that they have decided to never have children. Of this group, half (45.9 percent) report that their decision not to have children was influenced "significantly or a great deal" by their career plans and half (43.2 percent) report that their decision was influenced by their career plans "Little or not at all."

Possible Impediments to Female Assistant Professor's Careers

There have been many attempts to explain why women do not achieve tenure at the same rates as men. This study took the question directly to the women themselves. In this questionnaire, female assistant professors were asked to rate how fourteen different possible factors had been or would be a problem in their achievement of tenure. Table 2 shows how the respondents rated these

fourteen factors on a scale of 1 to 5, "no impediment" to "serious impediment." For the frequency tabulations, 1 and 2 responses were collapsed into "no or little impediment and 4 and 5 were collapsed into "serious impediment." These factors are in order of most responses as a serious impediment to the least responses as a serious impediment to tenure.

--Insert Table 2 here----

The data show that forty percent or more of all female assistant professors perceive that "lack of publications," "too much time for teaching," "time required by children," and "too much time on committees" are serious impediments to tenure. All of these except "time required by children" relate directly to the work of a university professor, and would be expected to be identified as items related to the achievement of tenure. Less frequently reported as serious impediments was sexual harassment (8.4 percent), usually thought to be an important factor affecting faculty women. Among other possible impediments which were reported as serious by only a small number of female assistant professors were: "time needed for elders" and lack of support from partners." These responses counteract some common myths about problems which women faculty may confront.

A larger number of respondents reported that "sexism," "partner's career demands," "lack of fit with the department," and "too few graduate students" presented a serious threat to tenure. Again, the factors "sexism" and "partner's career" directly correspond to issues unrelated to the

work environment and are somewhat unique to women. These are important issues, and help depict the total picture of potential problems which women face in academia.

"Time Required by Children"

Of the possible impediments which were perceived by over forty percent of female assistant professors to be most serious, only "time with children" is not an essential part of the academic work. The percentage of all female assistant professors who indicated that this variable presented a serious threat to tenure was 42.9 percent. When the responses of only women with children were examined, the data show that 59.1 percent of the female assistant professors with children reported that "time required by children" was a serious threat to tenure. That 13.9 percent of female assistant professors without children also report that "time required by children" was a serious threat to tenure supports the striking finding in this study that a large number of female assistant professors who choose to remain childless do so because of the perceived impact children will have on their success achieving tenure.

Significant differences were found between female assistant professors with children five and under and those with children six and older. More than eighty-two percent (82.1 percent) of female assistant professors with a child five and under reported "time required by children" to be a serious threat to tenure, while 43.2 percent of the female professors with children six and older reported time with children as a serious threat to tenure ($p < .01$). See Table 3.

--Insert Table 3 here---

The responses to this question support the notion that female assistant professors with children perceive that rearing children creates a significant impediment to tenure. It further shows that women with young children perceive themselves to be at more at risk for failure to achieve tenure than are women with older children.

In spite of all possible impediments, the vast majority of female assistant professors report that they would like to remain in academia. Less than 1 percent of the respondents indicated that she did not want to stay in academia. This contrasts dramatically with the percentage of female assistant professors who historically have actually attained tenure and been advanced to the senior ranks.

Written Comments

One hundred and eleven respondents (90 percent) took additional time when answering this survey to make extended comments. Most of these comments are responses to the last question of the survey which read: "Please add any comments which you think might be pertinent to this investigation. All comments will be read carefully." The force and eloquence of these remarks make the concerns of female assistant professors more vivid. My colleagues are quite empathetic and understanding; however, although the chairman may understand my commitment to my family he is not willing to acknowledge and take action that this may affect my ability to obtain tenure on the designated time schedule.

> Neither my chair nor my colleagues have any idea how much time it takes (as women) to raise kids!
>
> Because I have decided to spend time with my young children, I have less time to do the required research. My chair and colleagues know very little about these decisions.

In analyzing these comments, the most frequently mentioned additional problems faced by women faculty were: lack of time to get work done, the need for flexibility and part-time options, lack of support for women with children in terms of difficult meeting times, and narrow interpretations of success in academia, i.e. teaching and work with students need to be recognized as important contributions to the university and should be rewarded as much as research. Thirty-two percent (32 percent) mentioned in their written responses the need to more proportionately recognize teaching and clinical work or the need to broaden the recognition of success, pointing out the criteria for advancement are too narrow.

Discussion and Implications

The results of this study suggest that child rearing takes large amounts of time and significantly affects women's chances to gain tenure: academic women perceive that the time they spend with their children creates a serious impediment to tenure. The extent of this problem--the number of women who report that they are affected by it--is far greater than the remedies in place to deal with it. "Time required by children" was named as a serious impediment for over 40 percent of all female assistant professors, and of the same magnitude as teaching, publishing, and committee work. These results are even more dramatic for women with children: almost 60 percent of female

assistant professors with children perceive that the time they spend with their children translates as a serious threat to tenure; and more than 80 percent of female assistant professors with children five and younger report that "time with children" is a serious impediment to tenure. In addition, there are still a large number of faculty women who report that they plan to remain childless as a result of their careers. The majority of female assistant professors who have postponed or decided not to have children report that they are less satisfied with their work.

The work to correct the lack of gender equality in universities over the last twenty-five years has been aimed at eliminating sexism and sexual harassment (Sandler and Hall 1986) and attaining equal pay: issues that were clear, important, and which drew a great deal of attention and concern. However, during this same time, the effects of childbearing and child rearing on the careers of female assistant professors were downplayed--these were factors which emphasized differences between men and women, factors which those arguing for gender equity were trying to minimize (Hare-Mustin and Marecek 1990).

There have been dramatic social changes reflected in women's employment patterns over the last twenty-five years (Hayhe 1986): universities have not been unaffected. Whereas before women with children would leave the professoriate, now many female professors try to maintain their careers after childbirth. Indeed, a quick return after childbirth creates the impression that little has changed in a new mother's life. Women have intentionally kept their biological differences and family responsibilities apart from their academic careers in their drive to gain equality. Reskind and Roos (1987) wrote that "deep-seated beliefs in innate sex differences" is one of the factors which contributes to a more subtle barrier for women. They suggested that only when all

signs of differences are eliminated will equality be reached. A measure of how strongly women felt that they should not have special privileges was the sharp reaction to Felice Schwartz's (1986) suggestion that a slower achievement track be available to professional women with children (dubbed the "mommy track"). Few professional women have wanted to be associated with such an approach--one which seems to belittle the strides away from the homemaker and caretaker roles which many professional women have made over the last 25 years.

In developmental psychologist Jean Piaget's terms (1968), while women have been assimilated into the existing structure of university life, no accommodation was made for them. After women were allowed into academia there was little change: everything remained as it was before. Women were allowed in if they behaved just like men: but men made little or no effort to value, to understand, or to accommodate the differences between themselves and women. Institutions have continued to expect that women should continue in this mode: they could give up having children, postpone having children, or give up the role of primary caretaker of their children in order to fit into the historical model of professor, an occupation that began with a male image.

If women are to reach and maintain an equal presence with men in academia, the effects of childbirth and child rearing must be openly acknowledged and planned for in policies of the university. While the extension of sick leave to cover childbirth has been an important first step, this allowance is not enough to balance the time demands on a new mother who is also an assistant professor trying to get tenure. Returning to her full-time job and turning her infant over to a caretaker after three months leave might seem unreasonable. Adding more evidence to the inadequacy of current policies, research shows that only 30 percent of female faculty take full

advantage of their paid leave for childbirth. The pressures on assistant professors are too great to take even the allowed time off from work when having a child (Finkel, Olswang, and She 1994).

Another common policy in place at some universities is the opportunity to extend by a year the tenure decision (Finkel and Olswang 1994). For some women, this may provide the extra needed time to increase their record of production. For others, the first year, or two, or three of their child's life may demand so much from them that an extra year on the tenure decision will not make a significant difference in what they can publish.

These data require a reexamination of the expectations on women in academia and the policies which have been put in place to provide an equalizing influence for men and women. In order to make significant changes which will allow women faculty a fair opportunity to gain tenure, major changes to the faulty employment structure of the university are necessary. Rather than continue to expect women to assimilate to the existing university structure and its policies, the university must accommodate to women.

Jean Piaget (1968) introduced the concept of disequilibrium to explain the development of intelligence: disequilibrium precedes development. His model can be used for the development of institutions as well. When universities decided to allow females on their faculties, and were later required to provide equal treatment of these women, an emerging state of disequilibrium appeared. This disequilibrium has become more apparent with the continuing inexplicable and embarrassing lack of senior ranked women and lag of tenured women; universities appear unable to include a significant female presence in their senior faculties or even to maintain and support women on the junior faculty (Rothblum 1988; Blum 1991). Universities have been aware of these circumstances,

and have, sometimes when required by law, extended energy to make changes for women in such areas as sexual harassment. Yet, these data indicate that childbearing and child rearing may be one of the main causes of the persistent inequality for many women in academia. The problem for female assistant professors with children appears to be far deeper and more extensive than the reach of the few underused policies (Finkel, Olswang, and She 1994) now in place at many universities. If universities wish to incorporate women as full partners in all academic ranks, these data suggest that real and systematic policy changes are required. Flexibility must built into the faculty employment structure of the university.

The Element of Time

The traditional tenure system is based on an antiquated and an exclusionary model designed for males: men were professors and their wives were at home caring for the children. Since 1915, the AAUP has recommended that the tenure decision be made by an assistant professor's sixth year. For some male and female professors there may be no difficulty in developing an impressive number of publications and a fine teaching and service record in three or four years, while others, due in part to the time they spend with their children, may find it takes longer to accumulate such a body of work. Why should not the award of tenure be based on the accumulation of a body of work, rather than on work done under the pressure of an arbitrary, if entrenched, deadline? Such a change in the timing of the tenure decision would allow each assistant professor, in consultation with her department, to determine when her work should be judged.

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Table 1. Female Assistant Professors Married and with Children.

Married or in a Committed Relationship	78.5%
Those who have Children	55.4%
Those with one or two children	88%
Mean age of the youngest child	9 years
Those with Children five and younger	42.4%
Those with Children six and older	57.6%

TABLE 2. Impediments to Tenure for Female Assistant Professors

Possible Impediment	**Serious (4 or 5)**	**Somewhat (3)**	**No/A bit (1 or 2)**
Lack of Publications	44.1%	18 3%	37.5%
Too Much Time for Teaching	43.0%	24.0%	42.2%
Time Required by Children	42.9%	18.1%	39.0%
Too much time on Committees	40.0%	22.5%	47.5%
Lack of Grant Support	39.8%	23.7%	36.4%
Excluded from the Mainstream	33.9%	21.2%	44.9%
Sexism	33.6%	19.3%	57.1%
Partner's Career Demands	24.6%	13.2%	63.2%
Too Few Graduate Students	24.3%	10.8%	64.8%
Lack of Fit with Department	22.5%	13.3%	64.2%
Hostile Environment	19.3%	10.9%	69.7%
Time Needed for Obligations to Elders	8.7%	11.3%	80.0%
Sexual Harassment	8.4%	5.8%	85.8%
Lack of Support from Partner	6.2%	21.2%	72.5%

TABLE 3. Time Required by Children as an Impediment to Tenure for Female Assistant Professors by Subgroups

Subgroup	Serious	Some	No Impediment
All respondents	42.90%	18.10%	39.00%
Married	47.10%	19.50%	37.30%
Not married	22.20%	11.10%	66.70%
No children	13.90%*	13.50%	73.00%
Children	59.10%*	21.20%	19.70%
Child <5	82.10%**	14.30%	3.60%
Child > 6	43.20%**	27.00%	29.00%
Age > 40	42.60%	14.90%	42.60%
Age < 39	43.80%	19.30%	36.90%

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$